ESSAYS ON SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM

II

QUESTIONS OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

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Part II

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Professor Boris Datsyuk, author of numerous works dealing with problems of building a new society in the USSR, here describes how the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory is put into practice in the Soviet Union, where a developed socialist society has been built.

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Foreword

This booklet is the second and final part of essays on scientific communism. Part I deals with questions of Marxist-Leninist theory. Part II is about the experience of the Soviet Union in building socialism. It shows how socialism has transformed the economy of a vast country occupying one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, and changed the life of millions of people belonging to more than one hundred nations and nationalities, giving them genuine freedom and democracy and access to the treasures of culture.

How a Developed Socialist Society Has Been Built in the USSR

Socialist construction in the USSR, as is shown in Part I, began after the October Socialist Revolution in 1917, which established the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia and placed power in the hands of the working people. The banks, large factories and mills, railways, shipping lines and means of communication, previously owned by capitalists, were made the property of the whole people. Foreign trade became a monopoly of the state; an eight-hour working day was established throughout the country; paid annual holidays and a social security system were instituted; and an end was put to the unequal position of women. Hundreds of thousands of workers' families left damp basements and cold garrets and moved into houses and flats which formerly belonged to members of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

Lenin said that the proletarian revolution eliminated, "in passing", the remnants of feudalism by abolishing landlord landownership, and turned land over to the peasants gratuitously. They received more than 150 million hectares of land and were freed from all ruinous annual payments totalling more than 2,200 million gold roubles.

The banner of the revolution was the banner of peace. In the very first foreign-policy document, the Decree on Peace, promulgated by the

Soviet government, Lenin formulated the principle of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems, which has to this day remained the basic principle of Soviet foreign policy. Soviet power abolished the inequality in respect of legal rights between the big and small nations and in so doing put an end to national oppression, which had for centuries existed in Russia.

All this inspired the working people to building a new society. But their peaceful labour was interrupted by foreign military intervention and civil war. For nearly three years a life-or-death struggle was under way, on the outcome of which depended not only the destiny of revolutionary Russia but the future of world socialism as a whole.

In 1920 the invaders and the counter-revolutionary White Guards were routed. But several years were spent on restoring destroyed towns and villages and rehabilitating the war-ravaged economy. And only by 1925 the work of rehabilitation was, on the whole, completed.

Soviet Communists had no doubts as regards the foremost task now facing the country: it was the building of a socialist society. The Party was guided by the programme of building socialism drawn up by Lenin. As noted earlier, this programme is an organic part of the Leninist theory of socialist revolution. Lenin's programme of socialist construction provided for socialist industrialization, collectivization of agriculture through the establishment of farmers' co-operatives (collective farms), and a revolution in the sphere of culture and ideology.

At that time the question of the possibility of

the victory of socialism in one country was the subject of sharp ideological struggle. The point is that over a fairly long period of time the Soviet Union was encircled by hostile capitalist countries and had to build socialism by relying on its own resources only. Lenin's views were opposed by different anti-Marxist groups such as the Trotskyists, the "Left" opportunists, the Right capitulationists and bourgeois nationalists. The Communist Party was urged to wait indefinitely until a proletarian revolution was carried out in all countries. In practice such passive expectation could only lead to a strengthening of the capitalist elements that still existed in the country and that were waging a fierce struggle against socialism, and eventually, to the restoration of capitalism.

The Soviet Communist Party not only defeated the trends hostile to Leninism ideologically, but proved in deeds the historical correctness of the Leninist thesis that it is possible to build socialism in one country in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

There were two principal stages in the struggle to carry out Lenin's programme of building socialism.

The first covered the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. During this period a socialist society was in the main built in the USSR. The second stage was one of consolidation and development of socialism, in the course of which a developed socialist society was built.

The historical necessity of a transitional period stems from the nature of socialism. Whereas capitalism takes shape within the feudal system, socialism as a system of social

relations does not and cannot exist within capitalist society. The first elements of socialism emerge only following the establishment of proletarian dictatorship, when large-scale industry, banks, railway lines, etc., become public property.

Socialism is not the only socio-economic formation in the transitional period. At this stage capitalism still exists although severe restrictions are imposed on it. Farms, sometimes large ones, belonging to kulaks (rich peasants exploiting hired labour) are still to be found in the countryside. In other words, capitalist enterprises continue to exist in the country. Alongside the factories and mills that have become public property there are millions of small farms belonging to working peasants. Large numbers of small entrepreneurs, artisans and craftsmen live in the towns. Thus there remains a private small-commodity sector in the transitional period. Should the proletarian dictatorship deal with the small owners in the same way as it deals with bankers and big capitalists? Of course it should not. It is one of the central tasks in the transitional period to re-educate the millions of small owners, to convince them of the advantages of socialism.

The building of socialism is a comparatively long process which is accompanied, as will be shown later, by a sharp struggle between the developing new society and the moribund old one. In the transitional period, Lenin said, history decides the question of "who will win": whether socialism will defeat capitalism or capitalist elements will prevail over socialism.

Of decisive importance in the transitional

period was the first five-year plan (1928-32), the chief aim of which was to lay the foundation of a socialist economy.

The first five-year plan was put into effect under the slogan "Carry out the five-year plan in four years!" advanced by the working class. Millions of working people in town and country responded to the call. The first five-year plan was also a milestone in the history of the Soviet working class: its numerical strength almost doubled between 1928 and 1932.

Owing to the unremitting efforts of the working people great progress was made in the economic field: metal was produced by the Magnitogorsk iron and steel plant and the Azov steel works; the turbines of the Dnieper hydropower station, then Europe's largest, went into operation; and whole new industries were set up, such as the automobile, tractor-building and aircraft industries. Large-scale mechanized collective farming was organized in the countryside.

It can be said without fear of exaggeration that the whole world, friends and enemies alike, closely followed the building of socialism in the USSR. Successes in this work were hailed by prominent figures in the cultural field who visited the Soviet Union at that time, including Jean Richard Bloch, Martin Andersen Nexö, Theodore Dreiser, Bernard Shaw, Rabindranath Tagore and Romain Rolland.

The building of a new society in the Soviet Union was by no means a smooth process, one that was free from conflicts. On the contrary, it proceeded in conditions of acute class struggle both within the country and in the international arena. The Soviet Union was the first country in

the world to embark upon the building of a socialist society. It was advancing along an untrodden path, and serious difficulties were bound to arise. But the Soviet people had no other choice. The USSR was the only socialist country then, and industrial might alone could secure it against imperialist intervention and the restoration of the power of landlords and capitalists.

In building their new society the Soviet people voluntarily accepted hardships and sacrifices. They successfully carried out the first five-year plan in four years and three months. During that period more than 1,500 industrial enterprises were put into operation. Total industrial output doubled. The output of heavy industry and its core, machine building, rose 4.5-fold. At the beginning of the five-year period industry accounted for slightly over 40 per cent of the gross national product. At the end of the period the figure reached 70 per cent, although agricultural production had also increased considerably. Within a short period of time the USSR turned from an agrarian into an industrial country. It will be recalled that it had taken the United States, Britain and France one hundred and even more years to industrialize. By the end of the five-year plan period the Soviet Union had advanced to second place in the world in the output of oil, pig iron and machines and to third place in the production of electricity. In agriculture socialist enterprises—collective and state farms—already accounted for three-quarters of the country's agricultural produce.

These changes meant that the first barrier in the struggle for the victory of socialism had

been surmounted: the material and technical basis of a socialist economy had been built.

A new stage in socialist construction followed. The Soviet people were confronted with even more formidable tasks, those of completing the reconstruction of the national economy and laying the material and technical basis of socialism. This involved the building of 4,500 new industrial enterprises in the course of the second five-year plan period (1933-37).

In those years the Soviet people also carried out, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the highly complicated political task of eliminating the surviving capitalist elements and extirpating the roots of exploitation of man by man. And that signified finally turning socialism from a cherished dream of progressive-minded people into a living reality, into a way of life of millions of people.

The second five-year plan, like the first, was carried out in less than five years. The USSR became the world's first country to lay the material and technical foundations of socialism. The new and the reconstructed old enterprises accounted for more than 80 per cent of the country's industrial output. Large-scale socialist industry was now the dominant sector of the economy of the USSR. The difficult task of winning individual peasants over to socialism was accomplished. The collective farms united 93 per cent of the peasants, who tilled 99.1 per cent of all land that belonged to them. The elimination of the kulaks as the last exploiter class was completed. During the second five-year plan period the countryside received more

than 500,000 tractors, 123,500 combine-harvesters and almost 145,000 lorries.

Striking changes took place in the life of the national republics, where new, socialist nations took shape. Outstanding successes were achieved during the revolution in the sphere of culture and ideology. The standard of living of the people improved.

All this meant that Lenin's plan for building socialism in the USSR had been fully carried out. The transition from capitalism to socialism, which took place over a period of nearly two decades, was completed.

Four decades have passed since the completing of building socialism in the USSR. What new elements have appeared in the life of Soviet socialist society in this period?

The war against Nazi Germany was the first historical trial for the new society. Fundamental changes occurred in the world after the defeat of fascism. Socialism emerged beyond the borders of one country and a world socialist system was formed. The correlation of forces in the world arena today is such that, no matter what measures the imperialists may resort to in order to restore capitalism in socialist countries, the socialist system can successfully repel any hostile attack.

Socialist society is the most dynamic society of our time. Today the Soviet Union's basic production assets—machines, equipment, factory buildings, etc.—are valued at 623,000 million roubles, or three times the 1960 figure. What the Soviet Union now produces in one day is ten times more than it did in the 1930s, when the USSR completed the building of socialism. The

USSR occupies a leading place in the world in the manufacture of tractors, steel and a number of other industrial goods. In 1950 the industrial output of the USSR was slightly under 30 per cent of that of the most highly developed capitalist country, the United States, today the figure exceeds 75 per cent.

The USSR was making rapid economic progress in the thirties, but at that time it could only dream of attaining the level of science and technology which is all but taken for granted by Soviet people in the seventies. Today the Soviet people are successfully solving the problems of outer space exploration, industrial application of atomic energy and automation of production.

In the report of the Central Committee to the 24th Party Congress, delivered by L. I. Brezhnev, it is pointed out that a "developed socialist society... has been built by the selfless labour of the Soviet people."

This marks a new and higher stage in the development of socialism. As in the case of any socialist society, mature socialism rests on public ownership of the means of production, socialist social relations, observance of the socialist principle of distribution of the social product, etc. But its essential feature is a highest level of economic development, the existence of a powerful material and technical basis. The Soviet economy of today is a single whole which comprises the economies of all the Soviet national republics developing according to a single plan. The production relations under developed socialism are marked by the absence of non-socialist elements. Under advanced socialism there takes place a process of drawing together

of the social strata and groups, of obliteration of distinctions between mental and physical work, between town and country.

The building of developed socialism in the USSR has brought about further progress in the sphere of socialist democracy, national relations, and culture. These aspects of the life of a developed socialist society are the subject of the following chapters.

Socialism and Democracy

Perhaps no other word has been so much misused by the exploiter classes as the word "democracy". Even the Chilean junta and the Rhodesian racists swear allegiance to democracy.

Derived from the Greek words "demos" (people) and "kratos" (rule), "democracy" means, literally, government by the people.

Democracy is a class concept. Marxism-Leninism rejects the discourses of bourgeois scientists and politicians on democracy "in general", which they say is supra-class, "integral", the same for the bourgeoisie and for the proletariat. Marxism-Leninism affirms that just as there is no freedom in general so there is no supra-class democracy. History knows of only society where power is really in the hands of the people and where genuine democracy exists. It is socialist society.

Thus, for example, can one speak of government by the people where the factories and mills, banks and railways and all other riches are owned by a small number of people who exploit the working people? Is real democracy possible where the working people are debarred from governing the state, where it is actually capitalist monopolies that formulate state policies?

Socialism gives working people the highest type of democracy not by merely proclaiming government by the people, as the capitalist

states do, but above all by creating all the necessary material, social and political conditions for this. Only under socialism do the means of production belong to the whole people. There are no privileged classes and social groups in socialist society. Socialism guarantees steady rise of the material, cultural and educational level of all the members of society, making it possible for millions of people consciously to take a direct part in running its affairs.

Socialist democracy is therefore democracy for the whole people; it is complete and universal democracy. In a socialist society, where the exploiter classes are abolished, democracy is enjoyed by all the strata of society.

The new type of democracy was born in the fire of the October Revolution in 1917, when the dictatorship of the proletariat was established and all power was invested in the Soviets. It results from the revolutionary creative work of the masses. Socialist democracy represents a political system comprising the Soviets (Councils) of Working People's Deputies, administrative bodies, the Communist Party, trade unions, the Young Communist League and co-operative, women's and other mass organizations of working people. Socialist democracy provides opportunities for the masses to participate in all fields of activity—in politics, in government, in managing production. It ensures people's control of all spheres of production and social life, development of criticism and self-criticism, and makes it possible to combine collective leadership with the constant heightening of the personal responsibility of every one for his work.

The Communist Party has been the leading

force, the core of this system since its inception. It elaborates a scientifically-founded political line which ensures the advance of socialist society.

A central role in the system of socialist democracy is played by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, which function both as a state and as a public organization. This is an important indication of their democratic character. They are elected directly by the people and function with the participation of the people. At present, for instance, the affairs of the Soviet state are administered by more than two million deputies to Soviets, from Village Soviets to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Working together with them are more than 25 million active helpers of the Soviets who are members of their standing commissions.

The social composition of the highest organ of power, the USSR Supreme Soviet, is as follows. Its deputies include 498 workers, or 32.8 per cent of the total number; and 271 collective farmers or 17.9 per cent. It may be noted that there is not a single worker in the US Congress, where more than 200 seats are occupied by big businessmen.

Socialist democracy realizes in practice the ideals of freedom and equality. This is one of its principal advantages. It creates real conditions for the participation of all citizens in the administration of public affairs, makes possible free development of the individual and provides unlimited opportunities for all people to display their talents and capabilities.

Socialist democracy guarantees political free-

doms which bourgeois states only proclaim: freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and street processions, etc.

The anti-Communists, echoed by revisionists, assert that there is no freedom of the press in the USSR and other socialist countries. Marxists have never made a secret of the fact that they approach this question from class positions. In the first years after the October Revolution Lenin criticized those who demanded freedom of the press for all, from monarchists to anarchists. In the USSR and other socialist countries access to the pages of newspapers, magazines and books and to air waves is denied to those who would use these mass media for slandering socialism and the Communist Party, for disseminating bourgeois ideology. And this is precisely what the champions of "universal" freedom of the press want—an opportunity to propagate ideas alien to the interests of the working people.

That socialist democracy guarantees real freedom of speech and of the press is seen from the fact that the Soviet press, radio and television express and actively fight for the interests of the people, and that it enables the working peoples to exercise this freedom. No capitalist country, with the exception of the United States, can compare with the Soviet Union in the magnitude of the system of mass information media. In the Soviet Union and other socialist countries all Party and state bodies, trade unions, women's and youth organizations have publications of their own. Fourteen thousand newspapers and magazines are published in the USSR in 57 languages spoken by peoples of the Soviet Union,

including 18 peoples who did not have a written language of their own prior to the October Revolution. A decade ago the circulation of Soviet newspapers and magazines exceeded the number of people inhabiting the USSR (252 million) and at present it stands at more than 300 million copies. Socialism has provided real conditions for every person freely to express his thoughts, sentiments and wishes.

Journalism in the USSR is not a monopoly of professionals as in the case in the capitalist countries. The Union of Journalists of the USSR has about 50,000 members, but the number of workers, farmers and intellectuals who regularly contribute to newspapers, magazines, radio and TV broadcasting is six million, or 120 times greater.

All Soviet citizens are guaranteed the right to work (more than forty years ago unemployment was done away with and the last labour exchange closed down), to rest and leisure, to maintenance in old age, and to education. All types of schooling in the USSR, from primary school to university, are free of charge.

Under capitalism, members of the non-propertied classes are virtually denied access not only to higher but often even to secondary education. More than 80 per cent of the students in the United States belong to the "upper" and "medium", i.e., the well-to-do, strata of society. According to American statistics, every year about one million young Americans cannot enter colleges or universities for lack of means. In the past seven years alone tuition fees in the United States have grown by more than 67 per cent.

Socialism has made possible full equality of nations and the emancipation of women, who enjoy equal rights with men in all fields of activity and participate, together with them, in governing the state.

Socialist democracy not only grants extensive rights to all citizens but imposes important duties on them. It is incompatible with violations of law and order, with any infringement of the rights of citizens. It has no place for anarchic self-will, for amoral and anti-social behaviour which are so much in evidence in capitalist countries.

Bourgeois democracy is confined, as a rule, to the sphere of politics. Under socialism, government by the people extends to all fields of activity including economics and production management—something unimaginable under capitalism. Is there a capitalist or a monopoly in the world that would give workers control over their profits and the right to manage their enterprises? Only the democracy of the new type provides the working people with the possibility of participating directly in the solution of such important problems as economic and social planning, distribution of national income, control over the work of state organs, and so on.

Socialist democracy ensures direct participation of working people in raising the efficiency of social production, in furthering the improvement of education and culture—something which does not and cannot exist in conditions of bourgeois democracy.

The building of developed socialism in the USSR has further enhanced socialist democracy. Increasing in every way the role of mass

organizations of working people in the management of society has become the main trend.

The growth of the role of the Communist Party in the system of socialist democracy is the principal objective law of developed socialism. The CPSU's scientifically-founded policy, and its purposeful organizational and ideological work lead to an all-round improvement of socialist democracy.

Under mature socialism democracy develops in depth and in scope. More and more people are taking part in running state affairs. A role of vast importance is played in this by the trade unions, the biggest mass organization in the system of socialist democracy. They unite more than 93 million people, that is, almost the entire working population of the country. Trade unions have been established also on collective farms. Today more than 20 per cent of the collective farmers are trade union members.

The Soviet trade unions take a direct and active part in promoting social progress, in increasing production and raising its efficiency, and in managing the national economy.

The role of the Young Communist League, the various co-operative organizations, people's control bodies and work collectives or teams in the system of socialist democracy is also rising steadily. Work collectives constitute the basic production units in developed socialist society. This is where working people's initiatives originate such as, for instance, the advancement of counter-plans, the drive for increasing output and raising the quality of goods while at the same time reducing labour and material expenditure, etc. Work collectives are highly in-

strumental in fostering a communist attitude to work, in encouraging people to take part in social activity, in moulding a socialist outlook in people, and so on.

The development of socialist democracy in the USSR, the improvement of the work of state bodies and the promotion of civic initiative are important factors in the successful development of the entire socialist society which is building communism.

Socialism and Nations

"...We have every reason to say that the nationalities question, as it came down to us from the past, has been solved completely, finally and for good." Behind these words, spoken by L. I. Brezhnev in his report on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, are years of hard and purposeful work of the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The solution of the nationalities question in the USSR, a country inhabited by more than one hundred nations and nationalities, is the result of the implementation of the Leninist nationality policy. The very next day after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution was proclaimed in 1917 Soviet power put an end to the inequality of the peoples by abolishing all the discriminatory laws which had been enacted in tsarist Russia.

All Soviet nations and nationalities had the possibility of building their sovereign statehood. At present the USSR consists of fifteen Union Republics comprising 20 autonomous republics, eight autonomous regions and ten national areas. There is not a single nation or nationality, big or small, which does not enjoy its own statehood.

The elimination of national oppression was a remarkable achievement of the Communist Party, a triumph of its nationality policy. However, it was only the beginning of the solution of the nationalities question. The Party and

the state were confronted with the task of putting an end to the actual inequality of peoples. In tsarist Russia, along with regions that were comparatively well developed economically, such as Central Russia and the south of the Ukraine, there existed backward borderlands where patriarchal-feudal relations predominated, where the population was almost totally illiterate and where many peoples still led a nomadic life. These borderlands possessed considerable natural and manpower resources, but the tsarist government impeded their economic development and pursued a colonial policy toward the minority peoples.

Soviet power had to raise the economic level of the majority of the national republics to that of the more advanced regions as quickly as possible. Thus, the socialist industrialization of the entire country, which became the principal concern of the Soviet government, was conducted in the national regions at a much more intensive pace than in the country as a whole. For instance, in the 1926/27 economic year investments in industry in Uzbekistan doubled compared with the previous year, while in the USSR as a whole they rose by 17 per cent.

Where did the state get the required funds? A considerable part came from the all-Union fund made up of deductions from the incomes of the more developed republics. Thanks to this policy industrial production in the national republics increased 3.5-fold during the first five-year plan period (1928-32), while in the country as a whole it doubled.

The achievements, as we see, were impressive indeed. And the successes were all the more

remarkable because they were scored in a strenuous struggle against the survivals of the past, against the active resistance of bourgeois nationalist elements that did everything to hamper socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, not stopping at direct sabotage in their attempt to preserve the patriarchal traditions of the national regions and to prevent the drawing together of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

It was necessary to rout bourgeois nationalism ideologically in order to rally the working people of all nationalities for the building of a socialist society. As noted earlier, in the second five-year plan period (1933-37) a socialist society was built in the main in the USSR, and the actual inequality between nations and nationalities was eliminated. By the end of that period, for instance, the metal-working industry had grown 11.6-fold in Tajikistan, 7.5-fold in Kazakhstan and 6.7-fold in Kirghizia. In Georgia, heavy industry output had risen 20.4 times compared with pre-revolutionary times and in Armenia, 13.8 times. Industrialization was started in autonomous national republics and regions such as Tataria, Bashkiria, Karelia, Chuvashia and Udmurtia. Modern large-scale industry appeared in the Extreme North and the Soviet Far East. The collective-farm system was successfully established in all the Soviet republics. Numerous contingents of indigenous industrial workers emerged everywhere as organic parts of the multinational Soviet working class. With the fraternal assistance of other peoples and above all the Russian people the national republics reared their own intelligent-

sia—engineers, agronomists, doctors, architects, etc., along with the national Party officials, statesmen and managerial personnel.

Universities, colleges and other institutions of higher learning were opened in the formerly backward national borderlands. The Union republics set up their own academies of sciences. In the process of socialist construction illiteracy was practically wiped out. More than 40 nationalities acquired their own written languages for the first time. Literature and the arts developed successfully in all the republics. New talents of all nationalities swelled the ranks of artists and writers. In 1934, for example, when the Union of Soviet Writers held its first congress, its members included representatives of 52 nationalities. Representatives of 61 nationalities participated in the fourth congress, held in 1971. At present the Union of Soviet Writers unites more than 7,000 people writing in 75 languages.

The rate of economic and cultural growth of the young national Soviet republics is unprecedented in history. Their development marked, in fact, a gigantic leap from age-old backwardness to progress.

These successes are of great international significance; they are an example for other peoples of the world. With the active fraternal assistance of the more developed nations the peoples inhabiting Soviet Central Asia, the North, Daghestan and some other regions arrived at socialism without going through the painful stage of capitalist development which was experienced by the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and some other Soviet nations.

Having built, by joint efforts, a socialist society, all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union have come to a higher stage of historical development, putting an end once and for all to class antagonisms within nations. They have become socialist nations united politically and ideologically. Relations between them are characterized by fraternal friendship and mutual assistance.

The building of socialism and the emergence of Soviet nations created conditions for the formation of a new historical community of people, the Soviet people. This community came into being in the process of socialist construction and gained in strength as socialism scored ever new successes. In the years of the war against Nazi Germany all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union acted in close unity, as one people. The all-round consolidation of this new historical community took place following the building of a developed socialist society in the USSR.

Rapid economic growth of the country as a whole and of every republic is a characteristic feature of developed socialism. Today the economy of the multinational Soviet Union constitutes a single complex. In the years following the victory of socialism industrial output in the USSR has grown 14-fold. Industrial production in Kazakhstan is 600 times, in Tajikistan, 500 times, and in Kirghizia, more than 400 times greater than in 1922, the year when all the Soviet republics united and formed a single multinational state, the USSR.

The new community of people is not some new integrated nation which replaces, as it

were, all the individual socialist nations and nationalities. These nations and nationalities continue to exist and grow.

Developed socialism has brought about progressive changes in the intellectual life of the Soviet nations. The socialist patriotism and internationalism of the Soviet people have acquired a new content.

As L. I. Brezhnev said in the report on the 50th anniversary of the USSR, "we can justifiably speak of a broader concept, of the greater sense of patriotism of all our people, *of the national pride of the Soviet man*."

The national pride of Soviet people is permeated with the ideas of internationalism. It is broader and deeper than the patriotic feelings naturally inherent in every nation. It is pride in everything that is fine and progressive that has been and is being created by the millions upon millions of working people of all nations and nationalities in the country.

Considerable changes have taken place in such a complex social phenomenon as the development of languages. Along with the intensive development and enrichment of the language of every nation there takes place increasing internationalization of the Russian language, which has become the medium of communication between different nations and, in fact, a second native language of the peoples of the Soviet Union. According to the 1959 census 10.2 million people of non-Russian nationalities indicated Russian as their mother tongue. This fact was seized upon by anti-Soviet propaganda-makers who asserted that the Russian language was being forcibly imposed upon the non-Rus-

sian peoples. Life itself disproves this assertion. In a census taken a decade later, more than 13 million people of non-Russian nationalities put down Russian as their native language. In addition, 41.9 million people indicated that they had free command of Russian and constantly used it along with their mother tongue. Thus, at present Russian is spoken by 183.7 million people, or almost three-quarters of the population.

This does not mean, however, that the development of national languages has stopped. The economic and cultural co-operation of socialist nations, and the constant exchange of scientific, political and technical information have resulted in the mutual enrichment of the languages. Each day more and more works by writers of the national republics acquire new readers in the other republics.

On the other hand, the internationalization of the Russian language, i.e., the interaction of the Russian language with the national languages, turns it into a language serving the entire Soviet people as a new historical community. This is an objective process reflecting a high degree of unity of the Soviet nations.

There is no "state language" in the USSR. Moreover, its introduction is prohibited by law. The peoples voluntarily choose Russian as the medium of inter-nationality communication owing to objective socio-economic causes.

As noted on several occasions earlier, the economy of the USSR is distinctly international, and so are the staff of employees of enterprises and construction projects, collective farms and institutions of various types. Many facto-

ries and construction projects employ people of different nationalities who need a common language to communicate with one another. The internationalization of Russian is therefore a progressive process which facilitates communication between nations and the exchange of achievements in the fields of science, technology, literature and the arts and contributes to the cultural enrichment of the multinational Soviet people.

Such are the main changes that have taken place in the life of the Soviet nations as a result of the building of a developed socialist society.

Socialism and the Individual

We often say of a person that he is "a man of his times" or "a man of his epoch", without giving much thought to the actual meaning of these words. Every historical epoch does create its own type of man. Here the question is not one of biological characteristics, such as the colour of skin, but one of social type of personality. People always live in a concrete social environment and belong to definite classes, and this means that a certain type of personality is characterized by certain interests, world outlook, moral attitudes, etc. As long as class antagonisms prevail in society, the antagonism of different social types of personality is inevitable: antagonism between slave and his master, serf and feudal lord, proletarian and capitalist. Each of these types is the product of definite socio-economic relations.

Socialism too creates its own type of personality. A socialist society is a society of working people where the exploitation of the majority by the minority has been abolished and where, consequently, there cannot be types of personality whose interests are mutually opposed.

The individual under socialism is a free person living in a free society. He is a working man freed for ever from social inequality, from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Communists see their supreme aim in providing to all people unlimited scope for the deve-

lopment of their personality, for their physical and intellectual perfection. This will become possible with the building of communism. But the prerequisites for this are already created by socialism. The first of these is genuine personal freedom. In the Marxist-Leninist view, personal freedom is first and foremost freedom from the cruel and degrading necessity to work for exploiters, to sell them one's intelligence, talents and capabilities in order to make a living.

In the USSR conditions have been created for the harmonious development of the individual. For instance, communist labour shock workers, members of teams competing for the right to be called communist labour teams have many traits of harmoniously developed individuals.

The socialist type of personality, which is emerging, for the first time in history, in the USSR is the product of the socialist way of life, the basic principle of which, as we know, is "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work". On the contrary, where cash holds sway and the individual is judged, not by his abilities, but by how much he is "worth", i.e., by the size of his capital, individualism and egoism are bound to predominate. Socialism has solved a problem that is unsolvable under all other social systems, namely that of establishing harmonious relations between the individual and the collectivity.

Under socialism the progress of the whole society is an essential condition for the material well-being of each individual and for his intellectual growth. Socialism has for the first time

in history welded together the interests of the individual and those of society.

"What, in your opinion, is the principal trait of the Soviet man?" This question is often put to Soviet people by sociologists studying public opinion. The traits most frequently mentioned are: a sense of responsibility before society, patriotism, a sense of responsibility for the country's well-being.

As may be seen, social consciousness is considered an essential trait of the new, socialist type of personality.

Does this mean that Communists deny the right of man to personal happiness, or that they take no account of the interests of the individual? Allegations to this effect can be found in the writings of anti-Communists, who contend that under socialism the individual is absorbed by society and the state and loses his ego. It is the pious wish of bourgeois ideologists to find in socialist society the same vices which plague capitalist society: anarchist individualism, dehumanization of personality, drug-addiction, selfishness and money-grabbing. These they regard as manifestations of the human ego. A leading anti-Communist, the English historian Arnold Toynbee, even believes that the main conflict of our times lies in the question: which will win—the individual soul or the collectivism of human nature?

No such problems exist under socialism. Its supreme goal is to ensure the genuine freedom and happiness of each individual. It is in pursuit of this goal that socialism has delivered man from exploitation, from fear of the morrow which under capitalism constantly threa-

tens him with unemployment, crisis and ruin.

The formation of the socialist personality is vastly influenced by work collectives or teams. "Only in community with others has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions; only in the community, therefore, is personal freedom possible," Marx and Engels said in *The German Ideology*. It is in the work collective that the moral make-up and the character of the individual are formed and his many-sided capabilities are revealed. In production drives, in the effort to raise labour productivity, a communist attitude to work is fostered and the moral-psychological climate of the collective is created. In this way moral stimuli come to have a growing importance, and every member of the collective has the opportunity to apply his talents and capabilities. It has been established that in the work collectives where conditions have been created for every member to display his gifts more than 70 per cent of the workers are, as a rule, inventors or innovators. Where such psychological climate is absent the figure drops to five per cent.

It is in a collective work that all the new traits and qualities of the socialist man are formed. Among them are a sense of being the master of the country, adherence to principle, intolerance of shortcomings in work, and comradely mutual assistance.

The man of the socialist epoch is invariably an optimist and humanist. Bourgeois morality with its emphasis on money-grabbing, egoism, sponging and indifference towards the interests of society is totally alien to him.

Socialism has affirmed the indissoluble unity

of personal freedom and social consciousness. A highly important aspect of the intellectual equipment of the socialist personality is mastery of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, conversion of this theory into a set of personal convictions. The communist world view is gradually embraced by all members of socialist society.

The remoulding of the personality under socialism is one of the most difficult tasks in building a new society. Mastery of the scientific world view imparts to man fresh strength and a deep faith in the power of reason, in the radiant future of all mankind.

Socialism and Culture

Leafing through the magazine *Vestnik prosveshcheniya* ("Education Herald"), which appeared in pre-revolutionary Russia, I came across an interesting article which contains this statement: "If we leave unchanged the present rate of our nation's cultural growth, it will take about 180 years to achieve universal literacy for men and more than 250 years, for women."

According to this estimate, made in 1906, another 110 years and more will be needed to eliminate illiteracy among men and about 180 years, among women. The victory of socialism in the USSR has changed the situation completely.

The cultural revolution, led by the Communist Party, began simultaneously with the first socialist transformations. Soon after the October Revolution of 1917 the system of primary, secondary and higher education was reorganized. Schooling became free of charge and hence accessible to workers and peasants. The theatres, museums, conservatories, libraries and picture galleries became public property. The finest treasures of world culture were placed within the reach of working people.

The cultural revolution in the USSR had its specific features. Soviet power had to exert tremendous efforts, especially in its first years, to put an end to mass illiteracy left behind by the old order. People's power in Poland, Romania,

Bulgaria and other socialist countries was confronted with the same problem, though it was of lesser magnitude. In old Poland 23 per cent of the population were illiterate, in Romania, 43 per cent and in Bulgaria, 27 per cent. Naturally, in these countries illiteracy was overcome within a shorter space of time.

The experience of the Soviet Union, which was the first country in the world to launch a revolution in the field of culture, shows that it is a protracted and complicated process. In the first place, the cultural revolution is called upon to free the working people from that spiritual bondage in which the exploiters have kept them for centuries, and to give them access to all the cultural riches of the past. The task of the cultural revolution is to create a new, socialist culture, to form a new, socialist intelligentsia, to bring about all-round advancement of science, literature and the arts. The cultural revolution goes hand in hand with a revolution in the sphere of ideology, with the cultivation of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook among the masses, with resolute struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology.

Understandably, such a task cannot be accomplished overnight. Lenin wrote: "It is possible to obtain victory in war in a few months. But it is impossible to achieve a cultural victory in such a short time. By its very nature it requires a longer period." [1]

Important successes in the cultural field in the USSR were achieved in the process of building a socialist society. A new, socialist culture

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 33, p. 79.

was built then, with Marxism-Leninism as its ideological basis. Socialist culture is a truly popular and truly mass culture. It has nothing in common with the "mass culture" so praised by bourgeois and especially American propaganda. Socialist culture is a powerful means of educating people in a spirit of noble communist ideals, moulding a harmoniously developed personality and furthering its intellectual growth. Bourgeois "mass culture" is a means of "brainwashing", i.e., manipulating the consciousness of people, befuddling them with the help of low-standard literature and horror and sex films, etc.

The creation of socialist culture was not a nihilistic negation of the cultural achievements of the past, although even among Communists there were some who, brandishing the slogan of "proletarian culture", called for "throwing overboard" all past cultural achievements, all works of classical literature and art. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolutely rejected such views. Lenin saw in them a manifestation of petty-bourgeois anarchism alien to Marxism. He pointed out that socialist culture should be a natural development of all the finest that has been created by mankind. "We must take the entire culture that capitalism left behind and build socialism with it," he wrote. "We must take all its science, technology, knowledge and art. Without these we shall be unable to build communist society." [1]

Socialist culture is truly popular not only because it serves the interests of the working

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 29, p. 70.

people. The main thing is that, having freed the people from cultural oppression, it ensures their most direct and active participation in its development. Creativity of the people is one of the most remarkable manifestations of this. In the USSR there are numerous music, drama, opera and ballet clubs, art studios, etc., which in the evening are filled with those who pursue their "second vocation" after a day's work.

The rise in the educational level of the working people is one of the greatest achievements of the cultural revolution. From an average of 3.5 classes education in 1932 it rose to 6 classes in 1959. Then, there were 386 workers with a complete or incomplete higher or secondary education per every 1,000. Today, the figure is 640 per 1,000, exceeding one-half of the total number of workers.

In the course of the cultural revolution a multinational socialist intelligentsia was formed. In the number of engineers trained nowadays the USSR is far ahead of all the capitalist countries, the United States included.

"For ever larger numbers of workers specialized knowledge and a high level of training and also high standard of culture are becoming essential for the performance of successful work," L. I. Brezhnev said at the 24th CPSU Congress. For example, at the lorry factory in Minsk, capital of the Byelorussian Republic, there are more employees with a higher education than could be found in the whole of Byelorussia prior to the revolution. Socialism has changed the very image of the worker and farmer. Distinctions between physical and mental labour are disappearing as the share of intel-

lectual efforts in work increases. Already today this share is 72 per cent among steel makers and 93-95 per cent among belt-line operators. The stratum of such "workers-intellectuals", as they are called in the Soviet Union, is steadily growing.

The present stage of the cultural revolution is marked by rapid progress of science and consolidation of its ties with production. Science has become a direct productive force. Take, for example, atomic power production, radio engineering or electronics. What originated in scientists' laboratories has, within a short period of time, led to the emergence of new, technologically advanced industries.

The Communist Party does everything to enhance the role of science in the building of communism. Science makes it possible widely to use the riches and forces of nature in the interests of man, to create materials that are not found in nature, to discover new sources of energy, and so on.

The cultural revolution had led to the emergence of socialist literature and art, with socialist realism as their creative method. Permeated with humanistic, life-affirming ideas, reflecting the life of working people and expressing their will and sentiments, literature and art under socialism are a powerful means of educating and ideologically enriching millions of people.

Thanks to the cultural revolution the Soviet people has become the most book-minded people in the world. In the time it takes one to read this booklet 18,000 to 20,000 copies of books are printed in the USSR: Soviet printing houses

turn out more than 3,000 copies of books per minute.

The development of literature and art in socialist society is a direct concern of the Communist Party, which supports everything that is progressive, honest and marked by true talent. It appraises cultural phenomena from class positions, guiding itself by the Leninist principle of partisanship in matters of art and literature. Lenin always viewed such matters from the standpoint of the revolutionary transformation of society, of the struggle for socialism and communism. He repeatedly said that there is nothing more alien to the ideals of socialism than the smuggling of reactionary, retrograde views and ideas into literature and art, than attempts to cover up the poverty of content with formalistic tricks. The entire history of socialist culture shows that only in the struggle for the noble ideals of communism does the artist acquire real creative freedom.

We have discussed only some of the main characteristics of socialist culture, a fundamentally new culture resting on communist ideology and expressing the lofty principles of socialist humanism. Socialist culture is a stepping stone to creating the universal culture of the future communist society.

Why Socialist and Bourgeois Ideologies Are Irreconcilable

The other day I heard a broadcast in Russian coming from a Western radio station. It concluded with the following words: "You have heard the latest news, and learned what our views are on current events. Judge for yourselves whether there is in what you have heard anything bourgeois, let alone imperialist, as communist doctrinaires maintain. (At this point one could hear shouts and even giggles in the studio.) We are common people, just like you, we have the same ordinary human desires and dreams. . ."

The commentator was hardly the naive idealist he pretended to be. What he said was a propaganda trick which has been widely employed of late. Trying to capitalize on the fact that important positive changes are taking place in relations between the USSR and other socialist states, on the one hand, and the leading capitalist countries, on the other, capitalist-minded ideologists have been actively "pushing" the idea that peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems can be meaningful only given the simultaneous "reconciliation" of the two counterposed ideologies, socialist and bourgeois.

Bourgeois propagandists exhort Communists

to adopt the position of "de-ideologization", that is, to give up active propagation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and generally to stop the offensive against bourgeois ideology. They demand replacing the propagation of ideas with "communication", which allegedly is independent of the interests of classes and parties. The US sociologist, W. Davison, for example, asserts that although there is nothing "obscene" about it, "propaganda" is, in his opinion, forcible imposition of alien views and ideas upon people.

Many bourgeois ideologists go even further. They maintain that the "de-ideologization" of propaganda will lead, not only to peaceful co-existence of the two opposing world outlooks, but to their "convergence", i.e., to the merging of capitalism and socialism.

"Why are you Marxists so resolutely opposed to a convergence of ideas?" This question one often hears in the West. It is asked even by people who are not violently anti-Soviet and are not outspoken anti-Communists. "Why shouldn't peaceful co-existence between states be at the same time co-existence of ideologies?"

The answer to this question was given by Lenin.

"The *only* choice is—either bourgeois or socialist ideology," he wrote. "There is no middle course... Hence, to belittle the socialist ideology *in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree* means to strengthen bourgeois ideology." [1]

Communists reject peaceful co-existence of

[1] V. I. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 5, p. 384.

the opposing ideologies, let alone their convergence, on account of the class character of each of them. Socialist ideology expresses the fundamental interests of the working class and all working people. It is based on objective laws of development of society and on a scientific analysis of reality. Communists are the most resolute fighters for democracy, social progress and national liberation, for the triumph of socialism. They wage a consistent struggle against those who uphold the interests of exploiters, and against militarism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which make up the ideological arsenal of the bourgeoisie.

While hypocritically preaching the idea of "end of ideology" and "convergence" the imperialists and their theoreticians conduct an intensive war of ideas against the socialist world, directing their main thrust against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

Unable to counterpose any positive ideals to communism, the proponents of imperialism attack with particular vehemence the Marxist-Leninist teaching, which enjoys immense authority among working people the world over. Seeking to undermine the international unity of the world's working class, the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and fraternal cooperation between socialist countries, they slander the domestic and foreign policies conducted by the Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries of the socialist community. The enemies of socialism are also trying to set the intelligentsia of these countries against the working

class, and to sow confusion in the minds of the younger generation.

International imperialist circles are making a big effort to disseminate ideas of reactionary nationalism. R. Byrns, an American professor, contends that nationalism is the most destructive force in relation to socialism. Of considerable help to bourgeois ideologists is the great-power, utterly chauvinistic propaganda of the Maoists.

Employing turncoats of all hues whom they give the high-sounding title of "dissidents", bourgeois ideologists are working to bring about the degeneration or "erosion" of socialism which, they hope, will lead to the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. Imperialist propaganda readily avails itself of the services of modern revisionists. The propaganda-makers of the United States and other capitalist countries talk about "national models" of socialism, "socialism with a human face", etc., in order to disparage the socialist way of life which has become firmly established in the USSR and is winning out in the other socialist countries, to lessen the force of attraction of socialism, and to discredit the Soviet Union's experience in building a new society.

Progressive forces everywhere in the world today recognize that socialist ideology is the most humane ideology on earth which affirms the brotherhood and happiness of people. In opposition to it, bourgeois ideologists cultivate such reactionary, anti-humane qualities as selfishness, greed, national bigotry and political apathy.

Communists wage a resolute fight both against the ideas propagated by the imperialists and against the foul methods employed by them. The aim of imperialist propaganda is to manipulate the consciousness and behaviour of people and make them serve the interests of the exploiter classes.

Bourgeois theorists have come up with the idea of what they call "subconscious stimulation"; it means unimpeded penetration of certain sets of ideas into people's consciousness.

Employing such and similar methods the ideologists of imperialism seek to extol the capitalist way of life and conceal the ills of modern capitalism. They preach individualism and try to sow among the working people disbelief in their creative possibilities, in the human intellect, in man's spiritual greatness.

Only the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology helps elevate man and multiply his creative forces, frees people from the shackles of reactionary ideas and turns them into conscious fighters for socialism, for a better future.

That is why the struggle between the opposing ideologies is an objective law of the present epoch, it reflects the struggle between the two world systems and the fundamental distinctions between two ways of life.

Victory in this struggle is bound to be won by the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ideology of the new world building communism, the most humane and just of all societies.

Conclusion

The existence and the struggle of two worlds, two social systems, two ways of life is the distinctive feature of our time.

Almost six decades have passed since the day when the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia opened up before mankind the road to the most just of all societies—**socialist society.** Since then, two systems have been confronting each other in the world: socialism and capitalism. Their struggle and competition affect politics, economics, ideology, science, culture and all other spheres of human life.

To which of these two systems does the future belong? Marxists are confident that it belongs to communism, of which socialism, as we know, is the first phase.

This confidence stems from a knowledge of the objective laws of social development discovered and formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Today more than one-third of mankind is advancing along the path upon which the USSR entered after the victory of the socialist revolution in 1917. The formation and successes of world socialist system, and the building of developed socialism in the USSR are the most convincing evidence of the vitality and correctness of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Capitalism has sustained and continues to sustain ever more serious defeats. As a socio-economic system it is in decline and historically doomed. For the popular masses capitalism

means the omnipotence of the monopolies, the military-industrial complex, wars of aggression, defence of the survivals of colonialism, and neo-colonialism. Capitalism stands for the exploitation of the working people, inflation, unemployment and an increasingly lower standard of living for the majority of the population.

To rescue capitalism, bourgeois ideologists conjure up all manner of myths designed to conceal its evils. They call it "people's capitalism", "post-industrial society" and even "affluent society".

Historical experience fully bears out the Marxist-Leninist thesis that advance towards communism is the high-road of mankind's development in our times.

Eventually mankind will have done with the exploiter system for good and everywhere. Ever new heights will be reached in its progress. Its experience in building socialism and communism will become ever richer and more diversified. This process will always be based on the eternally living revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Б. Дацюк

БЕСЕДЫ О НАУЧНОМ КОММУНИЗМЕ.
ВОПРОСЫ ТЕОРИИ И ПРАКТИКИ

ВЫПУСК II

на английском языке

Цена 11 коп.